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When a Tamaha was to be appointed, the Tui Kanokupolu came and prepared an oven of food and himself carried it to the Tui Haa Takalaua. Together they carried the food to the Tui Tonga, probably in the fictitious fashion described by Collocott (15, p. 43). The three chiefs then went to the prospective Tamaha. Meanwhile all of the chiefs of the kingdom had assembled at the call of the Tui Haa Takalaua. The agreement was reached beforehand between the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua as to who was to be the new Tamaha, although birth had largely preordained this. As with every other bestowal of title in Tonga, the calling of the Tamaha's new title in the kava circle constituted inauguration in office. Informants were of the opinion that the Tamaha was appointed at maturity.

The derivation of the word *tamaha* was given by one informant as *tama* (child), *ha* (to appear); by another as *tama* (child), *ha* (above, in the sense of rank), by another as *tama* (child), *ha* (sacred, cf. Samoan *sa*). The Tamaha was not regarded as the incarnation of a divinity.

In travelling, the Tamaha was usually carried in a palanquin; sometimes she walked. When she passed, people seated themselves with folded hands and bowed head. Her uncle, the male Tui Tonga, brought his offerings and sat down before her with all humility. Sick people came to her for cure (23, p. 145).

One of the chief residences of the Tamaha was the island of Tungua, Haapai. It is one of the seats of the Tui Haa Teiho. When boats passed in front of the Tamaha's house which was near the beach, the paddlers got overboard and swam with the boat until beyond the dwelling. This custom is analogous to the modern one of dismounting from a horse when passing the Queen's residence.

A series of special words used for the Tamaha, the Female Tui Tonga, and the male Tui Tonga are on page 119.

THE TUI HAA TAKALAUA

The great chiefly houses of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu are nothing more than collateral branches of the dynasty of Tui Tonga which began with Ahoeitu. The first Tui Haa Takalaua was a younger brother of a Tui Tonga and the first Tui Kanokupolu was a younger brother of a Tui Haa Takalaua. Hence the stress which so many writers lay upon the spiritual and the temporal lines of rulers in Tonga should be understood to refer to difference of function and degree of chiefliness and sanctity only, not difference of origin, for both lines claim the same semi-divine ancestor, Ahoeitu. Besides this community of origin, the three great chiefly houses of Tonga were thoroughly linked by marriage.

The office of Tui Haa Takalaua is reputed to have been founded by the

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In some games the chief is given a handicap over opponents of lesser rank. In the game of dart throwing (*sika mamao*) in which the greatest distance thrown determines the winner, if the chief's dart were almost the winner, it would be turned over lengthwise so as to lie ahead of the leading dart. My informant had an impression that the chief's dart might be turned over three times, that is, the chief be given a handicap of three lengths, but not more. From this custom originated the proverbial expression *sii kae amo* (small but successful), which implies that although one has not displayed much energy or skill in an enterprise yet he has succeeded thanks to the assistance of someone else.

The *fekesike* method of fishing was never used by anyone but a chief who could muster the necessary numbers required (43), consequently a *fekesike* rope always belonged to a chief.

Not every chief has the word *tui* (lord) in his title. Various informants were under the impression that the term *tui* in connection with a name indicated higher rank than *eiki* (chief). One informant said that chiefs with the word *tui* in the title (specifically Tui Haa Teiho and Tui Haa Ngana) were in line to become Tui Tonga in event of the lack of a direct successor, whereas a chief like Ulukalala or Malupo was not.

Special rest places, mounds (*esi*), with a shade tree growing on or beside them, were built for chiefs. Sunshade or picnic shelters (*falekakala*, house of flowers) were also erected. The *esi* were given names. (See 25.)

A chief's sitting position is legs crossed and left foot on right knee (*faefakaheka*). When sitting among his inferiors, a pile of mats (*langolango* is provided to raise him above the common level.

In Tonga there seem to have been no official jesters, but at times certain individuals, termed *fakaaluma* or *fakatakataka*, who were considered particularly witty, took it upon themselves to amuse the chiefs. For example, Kaho, a man of Vavau, acted as *fakaaluma* for Akauola (grandfather of the present Akauola) and made fun of the people. He would say anything to make Akauola laugh. On one occasion he had himself tied like a pig and carried to a feast. My informant did not know whether this man was appointed. Akauola is one of the modern landed royal navigators (*toutai*).

A warrior who killed ten men and brought the heads as evidence was highly regarded and might be raised to the rank of a matapule or a petty chief (*eikisii*) and be given land; or again he might be given the privilege of drinking his chief's kava when it was called.

Anciently the staff (*tokotoko*) and the fly whisk (*fue*) were used by kings and chiefs but not by matapules. To-day, it is said, anyone may use them. The staff was used formerly not only in walking but to lean upon when addressing an assemblage. To-day the term *tokotoko* applies to the

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walking stick of a chief and to the staff of a matapule. The skill with which the fly whisk was handled usually elicited remarks from surrounding gossips. To use it swiftly and precisely elicited the comment: "He is an accomplished chief; long has he used the *fue*." If a man were clumsy in handling it, it was asked: "Who is this man who shakes his *fue* like a *tua*?"

Many great chiefs or warriors were tattooed in eccentric manners to distinguish them from common people. Vahai had two lines on each side, the upper ones extending to the breasts. King George I Tupou is said to have had the head of his penis completely covered with tattooing to show his disregard for pain as well as to mark him peculiarly.

A headdress of feathers (*fae* or *faefae*) was worn by chiefs during times of festival or ceremony or at the outset of a war expedition.

A chiefly person or a hign matapule (and the members of his household) washed his hands in a special bowl (*kumete fanofano*). That of the Tui Tonga (called *fakafanonga*—rendered by Baker [2] as *fafanonga*) was used by him only. A commoner usually washed his hands by rubbing them with the pith of the stock of the *fusi* banana.

Each chief of consequence had as part of his establishment a public house, *falehau*, for the entertainment of distinguished visitors (42). Tasman (30) pictures such a house as open on all sides. There were also houses for the sons and daughters of chiefs and their associates (42).

The chiefs owned all the land and could take what they pleased from their tenants and even kill them. On Lifuka, commoners inland could not fish on the lee side of the island. A commoner catching a large fish must give it to the chief. If he ate it he might be brought before the chief and condemned to death. To a commoner who refused to obey his order, the chief might say, "You are going to be dead," and it was not unknown for such a one, as he started away, to drop dead.

The arbitrary power and cruelty of some of the chiefs is manifest from the early accounts. The Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho cut off one arm from each of his cooks and Ulukalala (Mariner's patron) tortured and drowned political enemies. The cruelty of Teukava, a contemporary of Tukuaho and Ulukalala, was of a different type. On one occasion he gave a feast in which the entertainers were naked girls. At another festival (*katoanga*), he arranged in a circle a group of men suffering with elephantiasis of the testicles and went about with a hook pulling their privates out into view. Apparently the victims were entirely at his mercy, opposition probably meaning death.

On Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, is a cliff from which commoners jumped into the foaming surf to get bananas (*hopa*) thrown into the sea by the chiefs. The cliff is named Haamoa because of a Samoan who was killed while thus entertaining the chiefs.

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heiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting it over their heads. (66, p. xlix.)

Relatives, close friends of either or opposite sex, greeted each other, after periods of separation, with the nose-pressure. Among commoners this was called *uma*. Among chiefs the same caress was called *fekita*. A commoner never kissed a chief in this manner—excepting a common woman taken by a chief as a wife or concubine. No one so kissed the Tui Tonga but his favorite wives and his immediate relatives. Others kissed his foot or his hand, according to their rank, by touching the nose thereto.

There were three forms of *uma* or *fekita*: the pressing of nose end to nose end; the pressing of the sides of the noses together; the crossing of noses and pressing together of nostrils. These various methods have no specific names. There were formerly but two correct methods of kissing, namely the first and third; no one but a "country fellow of low birth" would employ the second. The first was employed by relatives and friends, and the third was employed by man and wife or by sweethearts.

In passing, friends always had a conventional word of greeting. Acquaintances used this greeting if of generally equal rank. Enemies usually ignored one another. This salutation made constant use of the term *malo* (well done, it is good), implying praise or approval. For example, if A walked along a road and passed B who was pulling weeds by the roadside, A would say: "Malo e hua" (Well done your pulling weeds). B would answer: "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, well done your walking by).

Or two men pass each other in fishing boats: A says, "Malo e toutai" (Well done your fishing). B responds, "Io, malo e toutai" (Yes, well done your fishing).

Also, A, carrying a burden by means of a *haamo* (shoulder) stick, passes B who is digging yams. A says, "Malo e keli" (Well done your digging). B responds, "Io, malo e haamo" (Yes, well done your carrying a burden).

The special greetings proper to different ranks are given in the list of Tui Tonga and chiefly words.

Delicacy and circumlocution in referring to another's affliction are marked in Tongan conversation. An excellent example is afforded by Thomson's account (54, pp. 279-280) of a leper in Parliament.

The act of registering fear, inferiority, subjection, repentance, or humility is called *hu*, which is done by placing a necklace of Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) leaves about the neck and sitting with bowed head and hands folded tightly in the lap.

To serve food on a green banana leaf, called *fakaloufusimata*, is a mark of distinction to the one so served. The term *malangafao* refers to the custom at a distribution of food of people rising to fill their baskets with food. Gifts presented at a feast are thrown down.

Men at times sit in the same style as Samoans, one foot on the opposite knee. The more usual style is tailor fashion. (See page 126.)

Babies are carried in a cloth slung over the back and passing under a woman's left arm and over her right shoulder. The baby is usually placed with both feet pointing to the left. They are carried astride the hip, too.

Men wear their shirts tucked inside of the *vala*, or skirt worn about the waist. This cloth is longer than the Samoan *lavalava*, reaching to below the knees and often nearly to the ankles.

Women wear their tunics hanging outside the *vala* around the waist.

Men frequently wear a flower, usually hibiscus, over the ear.

The eyebrows are frequently lifted in assent while listening to the conversation of another.

Diving into water from a height is done feet first, arms out.

Men shave the hair from the legs.

Women shave off the pubic hairs and pull out the axillary hairs.

Men use pieces of coconut husk as toilet wipers, while women use old tapa. The Samoans use stones, a custom regarded contemptuously by the Tongans.

Old men wear the hair shorter than young men. Women, after the menopause (*paa*), also wear the hair quite short.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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662 him, he chose merely by an outward shew of
634 moderation and wisdom to give a sort of passive consent, and to remain by this means the spectator rather than the actor in the scene, and so to avoid if possible the odium of being an accomplice in the murder of so brave and good a man.

A few days now elapsed, and Toobó Nuha
662 was still among the number of the living. One
727 evening, about an hour before sun-set, the king
634 desired Mr. Mariner to accompany him and his daughter to Mahina Fekite, about three quarters of a mile off; he was going, he said, to consult an old chief, Toge he Mooana, who resided there, upon some political business. Finow usually carried out with him a large whaling knife, (the blade of which was two feet long and three inches wide;) Mr. Mariner, observing, on this occasion, that he did not take his knife, asked him if he should take it and carry it for him; he replied, No, I have no need of it: the other obeyed, and followed* him and his daughter, unarmed. In their way they came near to a pool, and Finow stepped aside to bathe, previously sending an attendant to Toobó Nuha, to desire him to come to him. By the time he had done bathing Toobó Nuha

* When several persons walk together, it is customary for one to follow another in a row.

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there is a peculiar cavern, situated on the western coast, the entrance to which is some feet beneath the surface of the sea even at low water; and was first discovered by a young chief, whilst diving after a turtle. The nature of this cavern will be better understood if we imagine a hollow rock rising sixty feet or more above the surface of the water; into the cavity of which there is no known entrance but one, and that is on the side of the rock, several feet under the water, which flows into it; and consequently the base of the cavern may be said to be the sea itself*. Finow and his friends, being on this part of the island, proposed one afternoon on a sudden thought, to go into this cavern, and drink cava. Mr. Mariner was not with them at the time the proposal was made; but happening to come down a little while after to the shore, and seeing some of the young chiefs diving into the water, one after another, and not rise again, he was a little surprised, and enquired of the last, who was just preparing to take the same step, what they were

* The depth of the entrance below the surface differs of course with the different heights of the tide: when Mr. Mariner entered, it was about six feet below the surface: Jeremiah Higgins says it was two or three feet when he went in, at nearly low water, at which period it is very difficult to enter, on account of the swell.

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about? "Follow me," said he, "and I will "take you where you have never been before; "and where Finow, and his chiefs and mata-"booles, are now assembled." Mr. Mariner, supposing it to be the famous cavern of which he had heard some account, without any further hesitation, prepared* himself to follow his companion, who dived into the water, and he after him, and, guided by the light reflected from his heels, entered the opening in the rock, and having dived through the passage, which is about eight or nine feet in length, rose into the cavern. He was no sooner above the surface of the water than, sure enough, he heard the voices of the king and his friends: being directed by his guide, he climbed upon a jutting portion of rock, and sat down. All the light that came into this place was reflected from the bottom, and was sufficient, after remaining about five minutes, to show objects with some little distinctness; at least he could

* It is proper to mention that in presence of a superior chief, it is considered very disrespectful to be undrest: under such circumstances as the present, therefore, every one retires a little, and as soon as he has divested himself of his usual dress, slips on an apron made of the leaves of the chi tree, or of matting called gie: the same respect is shewn if it be necessary to undress near a chief's grave; because some hotooa or god may be present.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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different subjects. During these twenty days also, if any one pass the *fytoca*, he must not proceed in his ordinary careless way, swinging his arms, but with a slow pace, his head bowed down, and his hands clapsed before him, if he have no burden; and if he have, he must lower it, (from his shoulder for instance,) and carry it in his hands, or upon his bended arms:—but if he can conveniently do it, he will go a circuitous route, to avoid the grave. Here it may be observed, that, on all occasions, when a man with a burden passes a great chief, or the grave of a great chief, particularly if there be any one near to see him, he lowers his burden out of respect. Every day also, one or more approach, and sit before the grave for two or three hours, beating their faces with their fists; sometimes they bruise their heads with clubs, in which case they stand up*. These are the uniform and essential circumstances which always take place during this part of the ceremony of burying chiefs,—we now come to speak of those which were peculiar to this particular instance.

On the day after the deceased How was put

* Finow's chief widow, *Móonga Toobó*, every morning, attended by her women, cut the grass short before the grave with knives and sharp shells, sweeping away leaves and loose blades with brooms made of the mid rib of the cocoa-nut leaf: they also procured sweet-scented plants, principally the *jidle*, and planted them before the grave.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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rising off him, a violent blow in the face; on which Hala Api Api threw himself in a posture of defence, and demanded if he wished to box with him: Talo, without returning an answer, snatched a *tocco tocco**, and would evidently have run him through the body if he had not been withheld. Hala Api Api, with a nobleness of spirit worthy of admiration, seemed to take no notice of this, but smiling returned to his seat amid the acclamations of the whole assembly. All applauded his greatness of soul, as conspicuous now as on other occasions; Finow in particular shewed signs of much satisfaction; and in the evening, when he was drinking cava with the matabooles, whilst this noble chief had the honour to wait on them, the king addressed himself to him, returning thanks for the presence of mind which he had proved, and his coolness of temper; which conduct had placed his superiority and bravery in a far more splendid light than if he had given way to resentment: and as to his retiring, without seeking farther to prolong the quarrel, he was convinced (he said) that he had in view nothing but the peace and happiness of the people, which would undoubtedly have been disturbed by an open rupture with a man who was at the head of so pow-

* A spear about five feet long, used by them as a walking stick, but seldom employed in battle.

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11. Anafale pea mo Otaongo,
Vaitafe nofo ne ka ma o
Matalave e muitolotolo

Hake ai ki Vakatauoho.

12. Ko Makaakiu pea mo Latai,

Hoto ofa he Fakaaungalahi;
Ko Nuha mo Nuha fakafeangai.
Ta hakea Tafulava ki uta ni.

13. Koe Niu hono vai kaukau.
Ko Fakamoui nofo kau alu
Ko Taanga moe Tufu fakalanu

Moe toa malele ki hakau.

14. Mahumei moe Koloneulo,
Hoto ofa ki Anafeleoko;
Talotunu ene fasi paolo
Moe maka ko Lefiopopoto.

15. Tufunua hono vai fakakata,

Fakahafu[14] ai Tui Haatala;

Ene lupe ne fokotuu he maka
Ne iloa ehe vaka tuku kafa.

Ngata ai e viki matafanga;
Ka manatu e pea mate taha.

11. Anafale and Otaongo,
O stream stay while we two go
To Matalave at the end of the promontory
And ascend the shore at Vakatauoho.

539

12. The Rock of the Plover and the water of Latai,
My love to the surf Fakaaungalahi;
Nuha and Nuha face each other.
We will go by Tafulava to the shore.

13. Niu is his bathing water.
Fakamoui, remain while I go
To Taanga and the Tufu stream of bathing water
And the casuarina tree that bends to the reef.

14. The surf Mahumei and Koloneulo,
My love to the Sheltering Cave;
The wave Talotunu breaks and creeps
And the rock Lefiopopoto.

15. Tufunua and its waters that make one laugh,
Tui Haatala submerged his head there;
His pigeon was placed on a stone
And was found by a vessel putting down the fishing net.
That ends the praising of the sea shore;
If anyone remembers it all he will die.

Koe Taanga eni a Futa[15]

1. Ke fanongo mai e loto matala,
Kau lave au ki he otu fanga,
Ki hoo mautolu liku fakalata;
Naa viki kehea mai e taha.

2. Ete viki ka fua he Likutapu,

Anahulu ena mo Tukuatu,

Fotumoko feangai moe Ngalu,
Holaanga o Hina mo Sinilau.

3. Nukumalolo ka ko Laulea
Feangai moe Pupuamatea;
Fasi mei lalo a Fakaleleva.
Ta fanifoa ka tau hakea.

A Chant by Futa

1. Listen you with intelligent minds,
While I sing of the sea shore,
Of our weather shore that entices;
Lest some one else should praise it first.

2. My praise will be for the Sacred Weather Shore,
The Illuminated Cave there and Tukuatu,
Fotumoko which is opposite Ngalu,
The place to which Hina and Sinilau fled.

3. Nukumalolo now called Famous
Is opposite the deadly whirlpool Pupua;
With breakers below stands Fakaleleva.
Let us play in the surf, then go ashore.

[14] Fakahafu is the act of lying on the back in the water, submerging the head, and bringing it up quickly, so that all the hair lies straight back. [481]

[15] From manuscript in the possession of Mrs. Rachel Tonga, Pangai, Lifuka. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker. [113]

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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work. So of a man who seems to be on the job but is in reality putting very little real work into it.

It is also explained as referring to two or more people going through the bush together, walking in single file as the Tongans invariably do, when the front man, grasping a branch and holding it out of his own way, lets it fly back in the face of the man following. This is the explanation given by Baker, but although he had opportunities of getting correct elucidations denied to the present day investigator, yet the other application of the expression has much to recommend it.

119. Taki taha tali hono vaha-ngatae: Each one accept his duty; each one do his duty.

The word *vaha-ngatae*, translated "duty", is commonly and probably correctly explained as meaning literally "between the *ngatae*". The *ngatae* was used as fencing posts or for marking lengths of the fences in the compounds of high chiefs. When the people were mustered to build the fence they were assigned to do so many spans between the *ngatae*, and thus the distance between the *ngatae* came to be used in the sense of one's share of a task, duty.

120. Ojiki a velenga: Finished desire.

The division of this phrase into its component words, and the literal translation, are conjectural, but the sense in which the expression is employed is that of doing to the utmost of one's power.

121. Ta fakalanga ta: Stroke arousing stroke.

When workmen are weary and are resting they will be stirred to recommence their labor if one of their number gets up and starts working again. Used also of a remark which arouses antagonism, and begets strife and argument.

122. Tuai kae ngai: Slow but moving on gradually.

Has its obvious meaning of that which cannot make any great pace, but nevertheless keeps advancing.

Another form, apparently modern, is *Tuai kae nga'i*, which means slow but creaking, that is, creaking on its way; the idea being that of a cart moving sluggishly and creakily. The application is the same as above.

123. Tuu kau oi: Stand I shall grunt, groan.

Used by a weak or aged man to himself as he forces himself to get about some work. Come on old chap, get to it even if it does make you groan.

124. Valevale malohi: Unskilled (but) strong, or a strong unskilled person; an unskilled person who works with a will.

A man who has no special skill but who works with all his might ("does strongly" as the Tongan idiom has it), is more satisfactory than a

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 571 183 is that anyone who wishes to do kind acts had better choose a time when they will be really useful.

539 821 534 412 287 **308. Ngingi uha:** Sounding (of) rain.

This indicates the sound of the mallets used for beating out the native cloth, or the sound of the native drum (*lali*) when there is rain about. The note of the drum or *tapa* mallets is then a sign of rain. Proverbially applied to the signs that something is about to happen. (See No. 564.)

539 821 [183] **309. Uha kei lelei:** Rain still good.

Rain falling at a suitable interval after the last previous downfall, as distinguished especially from rain which falls after so long a period of dry weather that many plants have died and are unable to profit by the downpour when it does come. Generally of actions and circumstances of all sorts that occur at appropriate times and are therefore able to achieve the maximum of good.

SEA AND COAST

539 481 829 **310. Anu tahi:** Swimming (floating, wading) in the sea.

Used of one in difficulties, exactly as we say, "one has got into deep water."

539 481 183 **311. Auhia kae kisu atu pe:** Obstructed by the current but spitting on.

The picture is that of a swimmer striving against the current with the water breaking in his face and getting in his mouth; but who keeps squirting or spitting the water from his mouth and battles bravely on. Applied to one who goes indomitably on his way in spite of the difficulties which beset him.

539 829 184 **312. Fai tahi:** Sea doings, that is, unusual behavior, sometimes deceitful conduct.

The gods of the sea had characteristics different from those of the land; the conduct of people at sea is not the same as their behavior ashore. It is hard to say what special differences, if any, exist between longshore and sea-going habits and particularly why the idea of craftiness should be associated with this expression. Broadly it appears to mean things that are not done ashore.

539 571 825 **313. Fakaita fai ki tahi:** Anger bestowed on sea; "to be revenged on another by punishing oneself." (Baker.)

The story is that a party of brothers prepared food, yam with rats. When the food was divided one of the brothers, apparently the youngest, was dissatisfied with his share and in his chagrin jumped over a cliff into the

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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sea. These brothers were chiefs, each with his own followers, and the angry man's followers went with their master over the cliff. Among them was a Samoan. The party were turned into porpoises, and the tattooing on the Samoan's body is the origin of the marking on the belly of the porpoise. 539 571 825

314. Feofaaki a kakau: Mutual affection of swimmers. 539

Kindly feelings for each other felt by those who have very little opportunity of translating their sentiments into actions, just as men swimming away from a wrecked boat can do very little for each other however much they may desire to. 571 481

315. Ha ha mo lofia: Appearing, appearing and awash. 539

Used of that which shows up and disappears at intervals, like an object floating in the sea, which is visible for an instant and then is hidden from sight by the waves. 823

316. Hange ha pa utu: Like a steep cliff.

Used of that which stands firm and unshaken no matter what storms of trial beat against it. The picture is that of a great cliff unmoved by the dashing waves.

317. Hange ha tahi hua: Like an incoming tide.

A resistless thing.

318. Matemate a liku: The *liku* still.

The *liku* is the weather side of the island, usually protected by a broad shelf of rock, and always presenting a rock-bound inhospitable coast. Even when the tide is out and the sea smooth, leaving the shelf of reef dry and bare, one cannot altogether trust appearances for a sudden wave may come up and perhaps overwhelm those who are exposed in dangerous places on the rocks. Appearances that cannot be trusted. [183]

319. Laku maka fai ki tahi (or moana): Casting stones into the sea (or ocean).

A type of a useless labor; the stones are lost but the sea is not dammed up.

320. Likuliku mo ao: Windward and leeward.

The sea breaks heavily on the weather side but there is calm on the leeward side. This mixture of rough and calm is used proverbially of one whose character displays like inconsistencies; at one time he seems an honest man, and at another a liar; at one time kindly, and at another harsh. [157]

321. Limu tuu i au: Seaweed standing in current. 539

That which is unstable, like seaweed constantly moved by the water. 824

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 152 **393. Hange ha matai fana hala:** Like the face of a man who has missed his aim.

201 521 Such a man will be ashamed of his poor shot (with gun or bow and arrows), and may attempt to hide his confusion with inconsequent talk. Used of someone who has done what he is ashamed of, and whose shame is betrayed in his face and talk.

539 481 828 **394. Hange ha tangitofuhia:** Like a bewildered diver.

Tangitofuhia is used of the bleeding from nose and ears caused by staying a long time under water. In this place it seems rather to refer to a partial loss of consciousness resulting perhaps from striking the head or of staying under water too long, which renders the diver unable to find his way again to the surface. The unfortunate diver will swim about at random in his vain efforts to come up. Applied to one who wanders aimlessly about, or whose thoughs are erratic and disjointed.

539 571 157 **395. Hange kuo takai kapa hono lae:** As though his forehead were sheathed in metal.

Kapa is the local variation of copper, and is used for metal generally. This would seem to be altogether modern, probably suggested by Biblical language, though the same idea of hardy shamelessness is expressed in the Tongan phrase "Veiled with clam-shell." (See No. 241.)

539 571 522 **396. Kamo lalo:** Making secret signs.

Not strictly a proverb; it means that a number of people sitting together one is ironically complimenting another, or in some other way fooling him, at the same time making signs to the rest of the company and thus admitting them into the joke. It is used very much like the Australianism "pulling his leg."

539 152 201 **397. Katakata a nifo tea:** Smiling white teeth.

This is what Uncle Remus calls "a fit of the dry grins." A man may try to cover his shame or confusion with a smile; his teeth will be showing white as though he were smiling but the real feeling of his heart is far from laughter.

539 152 **398. Lau lau louhulu:** Fingering, fingering dried leaves.

A man who is ashamed or embarrassed is likely to break off a piece of the dried leaves with which the houses are floored and keep twisting it about in his hands as he talks; if outside of the house he will pick up any stick or other such thing that happens to be at hand.

[461] So used generally of doing some more or less irrelevant thing to cover up deficiencies, or to hide one's shame and embarrassment, just as a man who is behind with his work may start hustling round to give the impression that he has been hard at it for hours.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

miles in breadth; while, in length, it was upwards of twenty-six miles. I cannot, however, from my own knowledge, ascertain its proper extent, having been often much deceived respecting the relative distance of places, through the pain and fatigue of travelling barefoot: the natives never using any protection for the feet, in the form of bandage or sandal, and my own shoes being soon worn out, or stolen by the natives, who, though they knew not the use of them, yet as belonging to us they conceived they must be valuable.

I recollect travelling a whole day in company with Harper and Futtafaihe, to see Duatonga at Moon, but walking barefoot, I was so fatigued and pained that I thought it must be at least thirty miles, but, upon inquiry, I found it to be only seventeen.

When the war terminated with the subjection of the Aheefans, by the party of Loogolala, and we had retired to Arbai, the five brethren returned to Aheefo, and put themselves again under the protection of Komavai, with whom I understood they now resided.

I had some intention of visiting them, but I understood that an European vessel was off the island. I immediately hastened to the beach and went on board. It was an English ship with a spanish prize in her possession: she had put in here for provisions, by the persuasion of John Harris, who was on board. He had settled at Otaheite after he had

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

boy was whipped so severely that he ran away from Bovai's household and sought refuge in the house of a relative.

Within the children's groups themselves, there appears to be a well-defined beating-order based on seniority, independent of sex and almost independent of measures of physical strength. A younger child takes the whippings of those older and in turn passes them on to those younger still. This principle of seniority runs also through child-labour. The rule seems to be: never do any task demanded by an elder unless it is impossible to find someone younger whom you can force to do the job instead. Thus, if our houseboy, aged ten, was about, our two husky housegirls, aged seventeen, spent much of their time and energy finding tasks for him to carry out. They would rant and complain and occasionally beat the boy until the job was done to their satisfaction. If on the other hand, the girls were absent and the houseboy with a friend was about, then it was the houseboy's turn to recline upon a kerosene tin and order his young friend to light the fire or to fetch water. The friend did as he was directed, on pain apparently of losing the immediate favour of the older boy. We had, on numerous occasions, opportunity to suggest to all concerned that a job to be done could often be done easier and quicker by the older youth rather than by an ordered-about younger person. The suggestion was obviously incomprehensible to our helpers. They would stop to agree with us. But immediately after the commands and orders would be resumed. The principle of seniority is generally well-defined in Tongan society at large. It is to be expected therefore, that it should in some measure be made the basis for the organization of interpersonal relations in the society of children and youths.

Children of all ages from infancy onward wear clothes. The minimum clothing for a young boy is pants with or without a shirt. Older boys generally wear a shirt or vest together with pants or *vala*, the latter always being worn for church or festive occasions. Girls always wear dresses. In swimming, boys would go naked whereas girls invariably swam in their clothes.

PUBERTY

There is no ceremony connected with a girl's first menstruation. She tells her mother who in turn explains

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1616]

breast, and they fled to one of the canoes with sails and tried to persuade them to attack, but they would not, having been well used by us. They were very thievish and exceedingly desirous of iron, trying to draw the bolts out of the ship. They were of fine stature, well-proportioned, naked but for an apron. Their hair was dressed and frizzed, and some had long hair tied up in a knot. They were notable swimmers. Cocos Island lies in lat. 16° 10′.

On the 12th, in the morning, trading was reopened. We bought 1200 nuts that day; also bananas, *obas* [yams], and some water. The ship had eighty-five people all told on board, and every one had a dozen nuts. The king of the other island sent a canoe with a black wild pig as a present to us. In the afternoon the chief himself came with a great sailing canoe, fashioned as has been described heretofore, like an ice-sled, and was accompanied by quite thirty-five small canoes. This chief was called by his people *Latou*.[1] We received him with drums and trumpets, no little to his astonishment, as he had not seen or heard these instruments before. Many of the people who accompanied this chief kissed our feet, bowing and clapping their fists together over their heads, and other strange ceremonies, and showed great wonderment at our ship. The chief seemed to have good authority over his people. The chief himself could not be induced to come on board our ship, but his son did.

13th.—In the morning fully forty-five small canoes and an armada of twenty-three sailing ones came off towards us to trade. The latter had about twenty-five men in each, and the former four and five apiece. They wanted us to sail over to the other island, and we weighed anchor and proceeded—the chief sailing in his canoe abreast of us.

Presently the chief made a signal, and boarded us with great force, breaking the prow of his canoe, and thereat the rest began

[1] *Latu* is still the title of the chief of Niua-tobutabu. Cf. Fijian title *Ratu*.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 177 [481] [343] knives, beads, and nails. We sent four of our men to be hostages on shore, and kept some of the people in the ship. These people were very active, swam and dived with great skill, like those we met with at the other islands. There were round huts along the beach, thatched, about 25 feet in circumference, and 12 feet in height, with a doorway. . . .

[276] [131] [The Journal contains the earliest published description of the drinking of kava, which coincides with the present ceremony. Peace was established, visits of ceremony paid, and cordial relations maintained. These islands lie in 14° 56′, and were named Hoorense Eylanden = Hoorn Island or Futuna.]

Summary as to the Plates reproduced in the Text.

[501] Plate on p. 312 shows the meeting with a native canoe at sea, off the islands they called Cocos (Niua-tobutabu), which lay just out of sight to their S.W.

[501] [131] Plate on p. 310 shows the islands in question, which they sighted the morning after meeting with the canoe, but failed to reach until the following day—*i.e.*, Cocos and Verraders Islands: lat. 16° 10′. Here the ship's company had a collision with the natives. The chief's name was *Latou*.

175 177 291 301 302 342 344 622 276 609 516 142 137 Plate on p. 311. This is a plate which represents several subjects described in the text all in one picture. The two chiefs are shown twice over, and the large figures on the left are introduced to illustrate the descriptions of various forms of headdress. The trumpeters from the ship are blowing and the drummer beating, the four or five standing figures on the outside of the shed, to the left of the two chiefs sitting under it, are making kava, and the chiefs themselves conversing, all at once. The round or conical huts to the right are introduced merely as types of dwellings.

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

She is generally regarded as the Moon-goddess, and this view was spontaneously put forward by a Tongan in conversation with me.

Tregear, in his Maori Comparative Dictionary, speaks of her as being connected in the Maori accounts with the Ocean-lord, Tiniran, in a very mythical manner. The Tongan myth of her marriage with Jiuilau has been mentioned above.

The tradition of Hina as the sister-wife of the Shark god, Toki-langa-fonua, has already been noticed. This is not her only association with the shark. A Tongan native has told me that in shark-fishing the sharks are often addressed as Hina. In Eueika (Little Ena), an island not far from Ena, Hina is said to be the daughter of the first Tui Tufu, the chief of Eueika. She was very lovely, but one day, whilst sporting in the surf she disappeared, and nothing could be discovered of her fate, till at length she inspired in her father a dream, telling him that through the ill-will of a Samoan god she had been swallowed by a shark, into which the malevolent deity had entered to compass her destruction. Her father thereupon told his people that they need never more fear the shark, as nobody of Eueika would ever more be endangered by one. It is said that as a matter of fact there is no known instance of an Eueika man or woman having been injured by a shark, although both sexes freely and fearlessly swim long distances in the open sea.

In Vavau Hina is the daughter of Maunga-koloa and Tama-tangkia, and sister of Ngatai (Sea, or Seawards) and Fanua (Land). She had a pet shark, which she kept in a pool ashore, till one day, during an exceptionally high tide, which overflowed the pool, it made good its escape to the open ocean. Hina was inconsolable at the loss of her favourite, and started off to seek it, with her parent, rowing three in the canoe. When the shark was at length discovered out at sea Hina, in order to remain near her pet, jumped into the water and became a reef. Her parents commenced to return to shore, but, unwilling to leave their daughter, they too leapt into the sea, and became two rocks. The three-oared canoe flew up into the sky, and became part of the constellation of Orion. Hina's two brothers, Ngatai and Fanua, later set off to seek their father and mother and sister, and became two other rocks or reefs.

Sinailele, the Fijian mother of Tui Motuliki, is probably another appearance of Hina.

The Shark is also the god of the clan of the Tui Tofua, i.e., King, or Chief, of Tofua, a high volcanic island in Haapai, historically interesting as being the island on which Blight landed after the mutiny of the "Bounty," and from which commenced his wonderful open-boat voyage. Tofua is not now inhabited, but people lived there within the memory of living men.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

station at Hihifo, in Tongatabu, in safety, but greatly exhausted; and from thence canoes were immediately dispatched for the rescue of the sufferers, all of whom were safely brought away. The first escape, and subsequent endurance of suffering, on the part of the castaways, was all the more remarkable, because a goodly number of them were women. But it may be here remarked, in passing, that Tonguese women are quite as clever and expert in swimming as are the men; although, of course, their physical powers would not enable them to hold out so long as those of the sterner sex.

Leaving the Haabai group, and proceeding still to the northward, another volcanic island is met with, called Late. This island lies in the same parallel of distance as the two Hugas, from the main chain of islands, and is therefore considerably to the westward. It occupies a position about midway between Haabai and the Haafuluhao, or Vavau group. It also is uninhabited, but it is an island of considerable resources, and it is frequently visited by voyagers proceeding between Tonga and Fiji. In making a final start for the latter islands, Late affords a good point of departure for the native navigators from Vavau. The nearest of the Fijis lie almost due west from thence, and Late, being a lofty conical island, is visible from a great distance.

The Haafuluhao group is the most variegated and beautiful of the Friendly archipelago. Of the islands which compose it, Vavau is the largest and most important. Then come Bagaimotu, Falevai, Niuababu, Huga, Oloua, Koulo, Ofu, Ovaka, and a number of islets, chiefly lying to the eastward, in close proximity to each other.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Niua Foou]

in shore, even with that depth of soundings. But although the weather was fine when we arrived, the very heavy swell put anchoring out of the question. The boat was therefore lowered, and being deeply laden with boxes of books, slates, &c., &c., ourselves, and the native teachers, with the boat's crew, we made for the shore.

A strange sight here presented itself, for which we were quite unprepared. About thirty men were observed in different parts of the sea, at distances ranging from one to two hundred yards from the shore, each carrying a short bamboo cane with a fishing-line attached, and a *finaki*, or fish-basket. They had no canoes, but were swimming, or standing as one does when treading water, pursuing their avocation. Each man had a kind of life-buoy, made of several large joints of bamboo, from which he received partial support, and to which also his various fishing-lines were attached. These he drew up, from time to time, and deposited the spoil, if any, in the basket slung over his shoulders. Such is the rugged and dangerous nature of the coast, that it is only on very rare occasions that canoes can be launched for fishing purposes, and therefore the mode described above is regularly practised. The fishermen appeared to be at perfect ease in the briny element; and, as our boat passed along, they tendered us the usual salute, and then, hauling up their lines, they swam toward the shore to assist in the dangerous process of our own landing. We were directed, by natives waiting on the rocks for our arrival, to a spot where there was a narrow but flat ledge, to which our crew pulled straight ahead. When within a few yards of the shore, a number of men sprang into

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

water, and we had an oppurtunity time enough to warn our consort of the danger by firing three swivels.

In the fore noon we attempted to work up towards Hafaiva (which is the largest isle hereabouts) between Pootoo poo'tooa & a shoal that lyes NE from Kotoo, but making little progress and the same weather being likely to continue, we came to an anchor at noon in fifty fathom a coarse sandy bottom about a mile WBN from Pootoo poo'tooa, Fotoohåå bearing nearly NNE, Kotoo SWBS, and the shoal to the NE of it SSE and SE. The Discovery also came to soon after a little to the NE of us. Several Canoes came off from Ha'faiva with Cocoa nuts & Plantanes and in the morning we sent the pinnace on shore to Kotoo with our Indian guests, who were so heartily tir'd of their short Voy[age] that they had once prepar'd themselves to swim to it. Their greatest distress was with respect to their food, for they were not fond of Pork dress'd after our manner and liv'd chiefly on Yams. In the evening we caught a large Snapper of twelve or fourteen Lib. and a Grooper of the same size.

MONDAY 2d. The wind SE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather in the forenoon, but afterwards clearer. In the forenoon the Captain went on shore to Kotoo, which is scarcely accessible to boats from the coral reefs that surround it. It is not more than a mile and a half or two mile long and not so broad. The NW end is low like the islands of Hapaee, but it rises suddenly in the middle and terminates in reddish clayey cliffs at the SE end about thirty feet high. The soil thereabouts is of the same sort as in the cliffs but in the other parts it is a loose black mould. It produces the same things as the other islands and is tolerably cultivated but is thinly inhabited. We saw Annamooka from the highest part of it and the Captn thought he perceivd a clear passage about Toong'ooa and the other isles towards that place. Our people were employ'd in cutting some grass for the cattle and we planted some Melon seeds with which the natives seem'd much pleas'd and inclos'd them with branches. On our return to the boat we met with two or three ponds of water but it was very salt, and near them was one of their burying places that was much neater than those which were seen at Hapaee.

Several Canoes came from the different islands to barter their cocoa nuts, plantanes &c and we observ'd that almost all of them as well as the inhabitants of Kotoo were affected with a violent cough and slight sore throat, which also made its appearance on board for two days past, perhaps from the sudden change to and continuance of the bad weather.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

651 796 few people except about twenty who stood up in the end of a road that opens into the Area, who kept constantly repeating a sentence in a mournfull tone which convey'd some Idea of distress and that they call'd for something. This which they call ooee[1] was continued about an hour and in the mean time many people came down the road they stood in, each of whom laid a Yam before them or a bunch of ripe Plantanes wrapp'd up while others brought baskets whose contents we did not see. They then mov'd a little farther and continued the cry some time when they advanc'd a little more & sat down, the Yams &c being mov'd along with them each time. The whole amounting to 250 then got up and pass'd in slow procession before Poulaho, who sat on the grass, some carying the yams &c and others nothing but every one had either a club or spear in his hand. They pass'd on to the single Fya'tocka on the mount mention'd before & laid the things down but appear'd to have some reluctance in letting us pass that way, though we could see no reason why the whole should seem to be made so mysterious.

[481] At present we saw there was an end to the Ceremony but were informd something else was to be done in the afternoon, and accordingly after dinner they told us that we must not walk in any of the roads except that which led down to the boat, or else if we were seen there was people who would knock us down with clubs which they said was also the case with themselves. We however transgress'd a little and really saw no person in the roads though many were looking through the fences, but at the large Fya'tocka near Poulahos house there was a great many men collected together, whom we shortly after saw to the number of six hundred walking by pairs in [482] procession through the principal roads. Each pair had a long pole which they carried on the shoulders as if with a heavy burden, but they had only three bits of sticks or small yams about the thickness of a finger and six inches long tied to the under part. We were only 651 permitted to look at these through the fences, and as the mysterious- 796 ness seem'd to increase we urg'd Poulaho to be present at the cere- 123 mony, but he made several excuses by saying we must undress and [784] go cloath'd like them and that we would not be able to sit long enough [761] in a requisite posture, in either of which cases he alledg'd that if we transgress'd God would certainly kill him.

He however said that we should see everything that pass'd through a fence, and order'd some people to take us to an inclosure adjoining the Area of the Fyatocka where the Yams were carried to in the fore-noon. The fence unluckily happen'd to be of that sort which is quite

[1] *ui*, to call out.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

tumour which affects the legs & arms & increases them to an extraordinary size in their whole length: and the other a tumour of the same sort in the testicles which sometimes exceed the size of the two fists,[1] but in other respects they may be consider'd as uncommonly healthy, not a single person having been seen confin'd to the house by sickness of any kind. On the contrary their strength and activity are every way answerable to their muscular appearance, which they exert both in their usual employments and diversions in such a manner that there can be no doubt but they are as yet little debilitated by numerous diseases, the consequences of indolence and an unnatural method of life. The gracefull air and firm step with which these people walk are not the least obvious proof of their personal perfections. They consider this as a thing so natural or so necessary to be acquird that nothing us'd to excite their laughter sooner than to see us frequently stumbling upon the roots of trees or other things.

Their countenances express very remarkably the abundant mildness & good nature which they posess, and are entirely free from that savage keenness which marks nations in a barbarous state. They would indeed rather perswade one to believe that they had been bred up under the severest restrictions to acquire an aspect so settled, and such a command of their passions as well as steadiness in conduct, but they are at the same time frank, chearfull and good humour'd, though sometimes in the presence of their chiefs they put on a degree of gravity and such a serious air that becomes stiff or aukward & has an appearance of reserve. Their peacable disposition is sufficiently evinc'd from the friendly reception all strangers have met with who have visited them. Instead of offering to attack them openly or clandestinely, as has been the case with most of the inhabitants of these seas,[2] they have never appear'd in the smallest degree hostile but on the contrary like the most civiliz'd nations have courted an intercourse with them by bartering, the only medium which unites all nations in a sort of friendship. In short they seem posess'd of many of the most excellent qualitys that adorn the human mind as Industry, Ingenuity, Perseverance, affability and perhaps

[1] These two other 'diseases' are one: they are both aspects of the elephantiasis which results from the mosquito-carried filariasis, which is the real disease. The Tongans used surgery to treat the scrotal swelling—Mariner, II, pp. ci–cii; they did nothing about the legs or arms, according to him, but Samwell speaks of 'the Scars of large Gashes . . . seemingly with the Intention of letting out the Contents of the Tumor'.—p. 1045 below.

[2] Mariner's account (II, pp. 71–2) of the contemplated attack on the ships appears to give the lie to this; but he has the later statement, II, p. 138, 'In respect to the intended assassination of Captain Cook, every native of Tonga would have considered it, if it had taken place, a very base act, for which probably the gods would have punished them.'

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

by small sticks reaching from one to the other plac'd across or obliquely for the greater security, and of such a length that the parallel spar (which is about two thirds of the Boats length) lyes on the surface of the water as she goes along. It is nevertheless, notwithstanding this precaution, a very common accident for their Canoes to turn quite over barely from changing the posture a few inches when sitting in them, and that always to the side where the outrigger is not fix'd. The same happens if the small sticks fastening the parallel to the cross spars are broke, but these accidents are of little consequence, as all ages & sexes are such expert swimmers that they easily repair the injury in the water by turning up the Canoe and baling her out or fastening the sticks when displac'd. In these small embarkations they will venture several miles from the shore in a considerable sea and wind and manage them very dexterously; but notwithstanding the nicety with which they are joind and though the seams are pitch'd with a jetty substance smelling like amber that is said to be the juice of a tree harden'd,[1] they are oblig'd to keep constantly baling out the water, for which they use a scoop made exactly like those of our small fishing boats.

The large or sailing Canoes[2] are shap'd not much unlike the others; but both ends, which are drawn out to a point instead of a wedge, resemble each other. They are all double (i.e. two joind together) with the heighth of a pretty broad plank raisd upon the rounded part, from which rafters are laid across to lash the two together by, that are about four or five feet asunder. Over these is built a large platform or stage reaching from one deck to the other lengthways and projecting considerably beyond the outside of each. These are made of strong planks and are either flat or rise with a bending abaft like the deck of some ships. On this is plac'd a hut like half a cylinder resting on its inside, or of the figure of one of their common huts divided longitudinally, in which they keep their matts, cloth or other necessary things and where the principal people sleep in their Voyages. The mast is plac'd always in one of the Canoes before its middle and inclines to the opposite side and forwards, sometimes fix'd sometimes made to take out. It is well stay'd with strong ropes & has notches by which they go up occasionally, though it is but short in proportion to the vessel. The sail is of a triangular figure with the

[1] A number of trees produced a gum used in caulking: I have not succeeded in finding out which particular one Anderson refers to here.

[2] Anderson here goes on to describe the *tongiaki*, double canoe, which just about this time was giving place to an improved version, the *kalia*, based on the design of the Fijian *ndrua*. We know from Webber's drawings that Cook saw both types. Hornell's discussion of these double canoes (op. cit., pp. 265–73) is both learned and interesting.

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

WHEN the Wesleyan missionaries arrived in Tonga in the 1820s the country was experiencing a period of political instability, a continuation, in fact, of the civil strife that began in 1797. Within months of Thomas's arrival two of the highest ranking chiefs—Tāufa'āhau and Laufilitonga—became embroiled in a struggle in Ha'apai which threatened the peace of the whole group.[9] Confronted with 'wars and rumours of wars', the missionaries felt it a duty to teach the new way—a way of love, mercy and peace. They saw the Tongans as a warlike people, revelling in war, enjoying fighting as a pastime.[10] But as the Christian teaching began to take root they frequently noted in their reports to their superiors in London that one of the most obvious fruits of the gospel was that the Tongans no longer cherished war. Visitors commented on the change. Ransome, log keeper of the whaler *Elizabeth*, observed that the people

> appear to have been much benefitted by the exertions of their . . . missionary Mr. Thomas—at one time they were a very warlike treacherous set, but now their manners are much altered . . . many of them brought their muskets to exchange for calico, that they may appear decently in church.[11]

When a new chapel was opened in Ha'apai in the 30s, the missionary present at the festivities wrote enthusiastically that the king and people desired 'to learn war no more'. As proof of this change of heart Charles Tucker told how the king had given a number of clubs and spears from which the communion rail for the new chapel had been fashioned.[12] Other new chapels were decorated with former weapons of war, and David Cargill pointed out that 'walking sticks made from these weapons are very common'.[13]

Two outbreaks of hostilities early in the mission's history, one in 1831 and the other in 1833, were settled without loss of blood, and the missionaries were quick to point out that the new Christian attitude which was responsible for the bloodlessness of the fighting stood in marked contrast to the brutality of the former era. Describing the events which followed the destruction of the rebel fort in Vava'u in 1831, Turner noted:

> The captive party were expecting to share the same fate [as the ill-fated fortress], and Finau seemed wishful to make an example of the ring leaders but King Geo. had begun to feel some little of the principles of Christianity

[9] John Thomas, Journal, 25 Aug. 1826, 26-27 Oct. 1826, WMMS (ANL, mf M159).
[10] James Watkin, draft of article for *Methodist Magazine*, 30 Sept. 1833, Sydney, Mitchell Library (hereinafter ML), James Watkin Papers, A1540. Peter Turner, Journal, 25 June 1833, ML, B501.
[11] H. Ransome, Log Book of the Whaling Ship *Elizabeth*, 26 Feb. 1832, 28 Mar. 1832, MLA1481.
[12] Tucker to Secretaries of the WMMS, 17 Sept. 1835, *Papers Relative to Wesleyan Missions*, LXXV (1838).
[13] David Cargill, Journal, 2 Oct. 1834, ML, A1817.

[459 cont.]

175 An excellent print, executed by Mr. Sherwin, has been made from his drawing,
565
114 which expresses the countenance of this chief, and the mild character
[181] of the whole nation, better than any description. It is inserted in
[20]
[431] captain Cook's account of this voyage, and represents Attahha in the action of thanksgiving, laying a nail on his head, which he had
175 received as a present. After breakfast, the captains and my father
565 prepared to return to the shore with him; but just as he was going
152 out of the cabin, he happened to see a Taheitian dog running about the
231 deck; at this sight he could not conceal his joy, but clapped his hands on his breast, and turning to the captain, repeated the word goorree(15)

[197] 15. Ooree signifies a dog at Taheitee; and ghooree at New Zeeland.

[431] [460] near twenty times. We were much surprised to hear that he knew the name of an animal which did not exist in his country, and made him a present of one of each sex, with which he went on shore in an extasy of
175 joy. That the name of dogs should be familiar to a people, who are not
231 possessed of them, seems to prove either that this knowledge has been propagated by tradition from their ancestors, who migrated hither from other islands, and from the continent; or that they have had dogs upon their island, of which the race, by some accident, is become extinct; or lastly, that they still have an intercourse with other islands where these animals exist.

126 I remained on board all this day, to arrange the collection of plants and birds which we had made upon our first excursion, and which
175 was far from despicable, considering the small size of the island. The
501 natives continued to croud about our vessels in a number of canoes,
[481] whilst many were swimming to and from the shore, who were probably not rich enough to possess a canoe. These embarkations were of different

[183 cont.]

142 had ever seen in these isles, full of sweetness and the charms of youth.
175 Her large dark eyes sparkled with fire, and her ebon curls floated
[291] on her neck. She was of a lighter colour than the common people and wore a brown cloth which closely embracing the body immediately under the breast, but being somewhat wider [184] towards the feet, perhaps suited her better than the most elegant European dress.

648 Mr. Patton having been sent for, arrived with proper instruments,
175 and dressed the wounds of the poor native, whose countrymen brought
[752] many banana leaves, which were laid on over the dressing. A bottle of brandy was given them, with directions to wash the wounds with the liquor from time to time. The wound was not dangerous, as it happened in a fleshy part; but as the distance was so short, the shot had torn the flesh very much, and made the wound very painful to the poor man. After this we distributed some beads, and departed making various signs
439 of friendship. The natives like those of Tonga-Tabboo, were strangers
175 to resentment, and continued to trade with our ship as before. They seemed to possess a truly mercantile spirit, and spared no trouble
[196] to obtain some of our goods or curiosities. Among the rest, they were much delighted with a great number of young puppies which we had taken on board at the Society Islands, on purpose to stock such islands as were not provided with them. We left two couple on Namoka, of which
502 the natives promised to take particular care. These people managed
481 their canoes with surprising agility, and swam with the greatest ease.
175 Their common trading canoes were neatly made, and polished like those
501 which I have already described. But those of the neighbouring islands
175 were of a great size, and some [185] of them contained upwards of fifty people. They always consisted of two large canoes, fastened by a

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

Fish nets (*finaki*). A fish net is made from the leaves of the coconut palm. The roots are plaited into a round net very much like a lobster net; when ready it is sunk in the sea, weighed down by a stone or some heavy weight. The fish swim into an opening in the net.

USES OF THE COCONUT PALM

The coconut tree is considered by the natives to be the most useful tree in Tonga. It is indispensable in house building, and the number of articles made from its wood and leaves is remarkable. The heart of the tree is used for making walking sticks, the bark for medicine, the roots for a kind of fish net called *finaki*, the leaves for baskets, thatching houses, and making mats and flooring. The uses of the fruit are innumerable.

As a medicine the fruit is given to pregnant women to increase the supply of breast milk. For this the green nuts are used. A newborn child is always given *namoa*, which is made from the roasted flesh of the ripe nut. This roasted flesh is chewed by someone, usually a woman, and when taken from the mouth is rolled in a piece of *fetaaki*, squeezed, and the juice given to the child. This is his only food for four days.

Ripe coconuts are valuable for copra, which is the dried flesh. This is sold to European markets largely, where it is used for soap, candles, oils, and a variety of products. The shells of the coconut are burned and made into charcoal (*malala*) for ironing. Kava cups also are made from the shells.

No native food is considered complete without the presence of coconut in one form or another. Yams, fish, and bananas are usually cooked in the milk extracted from the flesh of the ripe coconut and strained through coconut fiber.

Brooms are made from the ribs of the leaf, and the leaf stem is used for stirring oil, also as weights for tapa which is spread on the ground for printing. The bark (*kaka*), which surrounds the leaves at the body of the palm, is used to make bags for wrapping arrowroot and medicines.

The several varieties of coconut palms have different uses.

VARIETIES OF COCONUT PALMS

KAPA. The nut is gathered when green and husked, the husk put in a native oven and left for two weeks, after which it is taken out and beaten to remove all the dust. The fiber thus obtained is plaited into mats.

241 For commuting between the bush and town allotments and
481 transporting agricultural produce, the commonest modes of
494 transportation are walking, riding horses, horsecarts
493 (saliote), bicycles, and buses. Of a sample of 140 house-
492 holds, only 9 percent owned a motor vehicle whereas 26
percent owned bicycles; 28 percent owned horsecarts (saliote)
494 and 48 percent owned horses. The percentage of households
369 owning bicycles and motor vehicles and those riding buses
to their bush allotments was higher for Nuku'alofa than the
rural areas, whereas understandably the reverse was true of
241 those owning horses and horsecarts. Farmers desiring to
494 transport considerable volumes of crops, firewood, or other
427 material often rent trucks or horsecarts. In maintaining
241 the fertility of the soil, Tongan farmers have considerable
242 empirical knowledge and understand the necessity of crop
rotation and a sufficient fallow period. They realize that
stands of large trees or certain shrubs and herbs, such as
Lantana camara, Leucaena leucocephala, Paspalum conjugatum,
and Phaseolus semierectus, indicate better soil than species
like Panicum maximum, Cyperus rotundus, or Sida rhombifolia.
They also realize that the length of the fallow period has
been declining and that the soils are presently more
impoverished than in the past. The primary means that most
Tongans use to improve soil fertility are fallowing and
[654] burning dead plant material. The government encourages the
use of commercial fertilizers, and out of 137 sample house-

/163 cont./

245 This impression may be confirmed today for the entire Archipelago.
[178] Very likely the present number of coconut palms in Tonga (estimated at over three million) is far greater than it was in the past, since a new type of utilization was added to the old possibilities, namely, copra production. (428)

428. See p. 298 ff.

For this the natives use up 70 to 80 percent of all harvested coconuts.

It is precisely about the cultivation of the so useful coconut palm that the Tongan is the least concerned. He scarcely clears a larger area for systematic planting, but rather, wherever on his land coconut palms would seem desirable for him, he digs small holes (diameter approximately 30 to 40 centimeters) and places in each a completely ripe coconut (in any position). No further care seems to him necessary. Some natives simply throw the nuts they have set aside for planting on the ground and the undemanding plant seems to thrive
[221] even then. The "planting" of coconut palms is not restricted to any special time of the year. After seven to eight years the young palm yields the first nuts. Coconut palms, which grow by themselves or with mixed cultures (bananas, kape, taro, manioc), reach an age of over 100 years, though their production of nuts gradually decreases during the last decades of their lives. Since the ripe nuts are gathered only on the ground and one can then usually not determine from which palm they came, one cannot give any figures for Tonga about the annual production
[481] of he individual palm. To pick the young "drinking" nuts the natives climb up the coconut palms in the traditional manner: while grasping the trunk they "shinny" up and need no special mechanical aids. For climbing younger palms, however, the bad habit of cutting footholds into the trunk (with the machete) has occasionally been resorted to.

mei = Breadfruit Tree (Artocarpus altilis)

[262] The breadfruit tree was likewise widespread in ancient Tonga. Cook

/228 cont./

choir practice; school work.

and Christianization has brought the idea of the "week" and of Sunday. Yet, aside from this day of rest, the rhythm of the daily activity seems to have remained the same: the Tongan functions with matter-of-fact equanimity, and the abundance of new duties and tasks has not been able to decrease, much less destroy, his inner calm.

F. Transportation (Land and Sea)

In examining the development of Tongan transportation we must naturally make a distinction between land traffic (on the islands) and sea traffic (within the Archipelago as well as between other islands and countries of the Pacific).

With regard to travel by land, it may be said that the majority of natives still travel on foot. They often walk hour-long /229/ distances--transporting burdens at the same time--(596)

596. See pp. 249-251.

on the small islands as well as the large ones, though on the latter, in order to cover great distances, they make increasing use of means of transportation that have come to the Archipelago as a result of European influence.

The horse (597)

597. See p. 256-258.

that was introduced by Europeans has become very important for many natives (of the large as well as the small islands) as a riding- and pack-animal.

As a draft animal it is used to draw the two-wheeled carts (598)

598. See p. 256-258.

which have proved very useful on the streets, roads and paths of the islands (even in the bush) and are also European imports; in ancient Tonga the principle of the wheel was unknown. These wagons are not

/229 cont./ These wagons are not
398 made in the Archipelago, but some Tongans, even on the small islands, know how to repair them and how to make individual wagon parts (for example, wheels) from remnants of broken carts with the use of Tongan and European raw materials.

493 In recent years the becycle has become somewhat widespread on
494 the islands of the Archipelago. Some natives (especially younger ones) already own bicycles that they bought in the chief towns. However, except on the main islands, where the bicycle is very serviceable on account of the greater distances and the paved streets, it does not seem to be an entirely adequate method of transportation. Though some Tongans already use the bicycle on the small islands (some of them to go to their plantations), there is very often no actual need for it, since many roads and paths are very poorly passable by bicycle; here it is more a symbol of economic prosperity and a toy.

484 On the larger islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u there is scarcely
(481) a native who takes the trouble to travel on foot the sometimes long distances from the villages to the chief towns of Nuku'alofa and
484 Neiafu. Some ride their bicycles, but the majority of Tonga men and
494 women let themselves be transported by trucks belonging to the govern-
493 ment, the Copra Board, white traders and Tongan drivers. In 1951 there were 151 trucks in the Archipelago, (599)

599. See Colonial Office, Report on the Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951. /cited in English/ p. 23.

most of which operated on Tongatapu (mostly with Tongan drivers); some of them operated on Vava'u and three on /230/ Lifuka. On the main island there are also a couple of superannuated buses still in existance. The taxis, of which there are a few on Tongatapu (Nuku' alofa) (with Tongan drivers), are used not only by whites, but frequently also by natives themselves for trips and for transport

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 978 OU9 Tonga OU9

241 Frequently, walking for
461 another hour follows the bus ride. Tran port of crops from the 'api
484 usually involves greater lengths of time as the common method con-
494 sists of a horse-drawn cart (Plate 9, p. 93).
[481]

Fishing is a second significant activity conducted away from
226 the 'api, although of less concern within the interior of Tongatapu
[461] and along those shores with poor sources or access. In Vava'u and
[262] Ha'apai, fishing often consumes several hours per day, and supplies
[438] not only family food needs, but also enough for sale in local markets.

461 A third major activity concerns church and social functions within the local village or the nearest urban area. Many of these activities are concentrated during the weekends, such as marketing and major church functions. However, social activities during the week require participation of several hours per week.

In addition to the above, an entire range of miscellaneous labor must be considered, due to the low level of specialization of
461 labor in Tonga. Thus, to summarize, it is evident that potential
241 expansion of agricultural production in Tonga involves not only issues of land tenure and management, but also individual incentive, tradition and the amount of time devoted to agricultural activities.

During interviews conducted on all of the major Tongan islands, lack of land was most frequently denoted to be the major limitation upon agricultural expansion, while laziness of Tongan
241 farmers was the second most frequent response. The third most
412 frequent explanation concerned the lack of adequate agricultural tools and machinery. An examination of farm equipment, either owned or rented by the interviewees, indicated that most farmers possess

[Due to poor quality of original, plate has not been marked for a Category--Analyst.]

105: Vaea & Straatmans G,I-3 (no date) 1954
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little net. The fisherman hauls his net and retires. Sometimes a fisherman swims with his net, not requiring a canoe. 226 [481]

(c) *Huluhcngi* is and driving of fish in the night with torches towards a net.

(d) *Finaki* is an old way of catching fish by means of traps of the same name. *Finaki* traps are elaborate affairs made of coconut roots or wire netting.

(e) *Ta 'ulukau. 'Ulukau* is the name of a species of fish which has characteristics similar to the *'atu*. They roam in schools and come to rest near certain beaches of the Northern groups. Netting them there is a method widely used. 196 [825] 226

(f) *Fakamamaha.* The principles of this method are exactly the same as those of the *pola*, only it is done with an ordinary fish net with weights attached to the bottom. It floats on the surface thus requiring no men to hold the net up as is done with the *pola*. At high tide the net, of about 120 yards in length, is placed in such a position as to enclose an area in a semicircular fashion against the beach. At low tide the fish on returning to deep water cannot get through and so are forced to find shelter in small pools where they are easily caught with spears and *pulou*, that is covering the fish with a net.

(g) *Pulou* is the circular fish net, approximately five yards in radius, at the edges of which lead or zinc weights are attached. A fisherman using the *pulou* carries it on his shoulder, the net, of course, being folded in a way ready for action at short notice. The fisherman wades out knee-deep in the water and looks for fish. The trick of this method is to know the signs in the water of the presence of a school and another is, to approach into close range without frightening the fish away. If one does not master these two tricks, a good collection of corals and seaweeds may be the only reward. When the shoal is located, either coming or returning with the tide, the fisherman crouches to disguise his human form, perhaps hoping to exhibit the appearance of rock. At the same time the net automatically comes to a position ready for throwing. If the school travels towards him, good aim and a perfect throw may finish the day's fishing at once. On the other hand, if the school is moving away, [227]